

Meditatio – Refashioning the Self

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Meditatio – Refashioning the Self

Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and
Early Modern Intellectual Culture

Edited by

Karl Enenkel and Walter Melion



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DARK IMAGES, CLEAR WORDS.
PIETER PAETS'S ILLUSTRATED DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE
FROM THE *MISSIO HOLLANDICA*¹

Feike Dietz

In the Middle Ages, the process of Christian meditation involved the use of devotional images. The tradition of meditation enhanced by techniques of visualisation was further developed in the *Spiritual Exercises* (ca. 1522) of Ignatius de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order. Ignatius assumed that a believer first imagines himself as being part of a situation (*memoria* or mind). After that, the reader examines the situation intellectually (*intellectus* or intellect) before his senses stir up devout feelings (*voluntas* or will).² For more than a century, Ignatius's readers had to visualize without the aid of images. The *Spiritual Exercises* was first printed in 1548, but not illustrated until 1657.³

The religious emblem book *Pia Desideria* (*Pious Wishes*, Antwerp: 1624), written by the Jesuit priest Herman Hugo, tried to translate Ignatius's meditative programme into words and images.⁴ Hugo's work consists of pictures by Boëtius a Bolswert, which allegorically depict the relationship between God and the believer, in order to enhance the

¹ This paper forms part of my PhD project, "Emblematic Dynamics in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century: Word, Image, Religion", which focuses on the reception of the Counter-Reformational emblem book *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp: 1624) in the early modern Northern Netherlands. My study is part of the international research project "The Religious Emblem Tradition in the Low Countries in the light of Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*". In this project, I work with Els Stronks of Utrecht University and with Marc Van Vaeck, Toon Van Houdt and Lien Roggen of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). I would like to thank Alana Gillespie (Bleeding Ink Translations & Editing) for her editorial comments.

² See, for example, Verheggen E., *Beelden voor passie en hartstocht* (Zutphen: 2006) 27–29.

³ Mochizuki M.M., "Ignatius de Loyola, S.J., Geestelycke oeffeninghen van den H. Vader Ignatius van Loyola (Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1673)", in Begheyn P., S.J. – Faesen R., S.J. (eds.), *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540–1773* (Leuven: 2009).

⁴ The *Pia Desideria* is read in the Ignatian tradition by, for example, Leach M.C., *The literary and emblematic activity of Herman Hugo SJ (1588–1629)* (London: 1979).

communication between them. The accompanying texts facilitate this process by stimulating the reader's intellect.

The *Pia Desideria* was often adapted by early modern Christians. In the *Corpus Librorum Emblematum*, Daly and Dimler list nearly 150 editions and translations of the *Pia Desideria* in almost all European languages: Latin, Dutch, French, German, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Russian, Polish and Italian.⁵ Two different appropriation techniques existed: early modern users of the *Pia Desideria* reworked the collection of emblems either into a combination of images, *mottoes*, poems and prose texts, or into a combination of images, *mottoes* and poems. On the basis of available research, it would seem that both techniques fit the Ignatian meditative programme as propagated by the Jesuits.

In the Dutch Republic, the Amsterdam Catholic printer Pieter Paets (1587–1657) appears to have employed neither of these two existing strategies, as he published an unusual selection of elements from the *Pia Desideria* in several illustrated devotional works, sometimes even combining elements of the *Pia Desideria* with texts by other authors.⁶ Although Paets's works do not include instructions on how to use them, we can surmise that they served as instruments for meditation. The use of a title like *Vierighe meditatie* (*Devout Meditations*) places Paets's works in the meditative literary tradition.

In this article, I will explore Paets's composition of elements from the *Pia Desideria*. My analysis will focus on how Paets's works related to the Ignatian tradition of meditation. I hope to show that his works were indeed meditative in nature, but differed from other known *Pia Desideria* adaptations due to the position of the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic at the time. Paets's works are highly suited to the Dutch context, in which meditation literature – let alone Catholic meditation literature – was rarely produced. Paets was the first to combine Dutch texts and meditative pictures in the Dutch Republic.⁷

⁵ Daly P.M. – Dimler R., *Corpus Librorum Emblematum* (Montreal: 1997) 112–255.

⁶ 'Devotional literature' was recently used by Eire for a wide range of religious literature which was viewed or used as a means of shaping the faith of its readers. See Eire C.M.N., "Early modern Catholic piety in translation", in Burke P. – Po-chia Hsia R. (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007) 83–100, especially 85–86, 97–99.

⁷ Dietz F., "Under the Cover of Augustine. Augustinian Spirituality and Catholic Emblems in the Dutch Republic" (forthcoming); Stronks E., "Gewapende vrede: woord, beeld en religie in de Republiek", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 25,1 (2009) 2–25.

This context determined the way Paets presented the *Pia Desideria* to his audience.

The first section will explore the two most common strategies in the appropriation and adaptation of the *Pia Desideria* in various European countries, before focusing on the third strategy Paets appears to have employed. After that, the origins and backgrounds of Paets's strategy and literary products in the Dutch Republic will be explored, as will the impact Paets's works seem to have had in the Dutch Republic.

*Two dominant types of meditation in international
Pia Desideria adaptations*

In Hugo's original composition of the *Pia Desideria*, each emblem consists of several elements: a *pictura* representing the children *Anima* (the human soul) and *Amor divinus* (divine love), a biblical phrase as a *motto*, a lyrical Latin poem which is called the *subscriptio*, and an anthology of prose fragments from biblical texts and texts by the Church Fathers:⁸

Scholarly research on the European reception of the *Pia Desideria* has shown that contemporary editors and translators of the *Pia Desideria* most often reproduced these elements in one of two combinations. They either reused all four elements, or selected *picturae*, *motatoes* and *subscriptionses*. I will refer to the former adaptation practice as 'type 1' and the latter as 'type 2.'

According to the Amsterdam publisher Pierre Poiret, who printed the French *L'Ame amante de son dieu* by Jeanne Marie Guyon from 1717, type 2 was the most common. He himself removed the prose fragments, 'explaining that none of the earlier adaptations had used the quotations'.⁹ The Spanish *Affectos Divinos* by Pedro de Salas from

⁸ *Pia Desideria* consists of three parts, each with fifteen emblems. There is one opening emblem which does not belong to one of the three parts. There are no prose fragments in the opening emblem. Digitalized edition used in this article: Hugo Herman, *Pia Desideria* (Antwerpen, Hendrick Aertssens: 1624). Emblem Project Utrecht: <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624.html>.

⁹ Guiderdoni-Bruslé A., "'L'Ame amatante de son Dieu' by Madame Guyon (1717): pure love between Antwerp, Paris and Amsterdam, at the crossroads of orthodoxy and heterodoxy", in Gelderblom A.J. et al. (eds.), *The low countries as a crossroads of religious beliefs*, in: *Intersections. Yearbook for Early Modern Studies* 3 (Leiden: 2004) 308.

1638 and the Polish *Pobożne pragnienia* by Aleksander Teodor Lacki from 1673 are other examples of type 2.¹⁰ Examples of type 1 are such early adaptations as Justus de Harduwijn's 1629 *Goddelycke wenschen* (Divine Wishes) from the Southern Netherlands, the French *Les Pieux Désirs* (1627) by translator 'P.I. Jurisconsult', and the English *Emblemes* (1635) by Francis Quarles.¹¹ Variations on type 1 or 2 also existed. In variations on type 1, the prose part could be shortened: in the Southern Netherlands, several Latin reissues were published with just one prose quotation.¹² In Christian Hoburg's *Emblemata Sacra* (1661) and in Petrus Serrarius's *Godelicke aendachten* (Divine Meditations, 1653) the prose commentary was replaced by a biblical fragment.¹³ The protestant author Erasmus Francisci varied type 1 by adding prayers and songs to the images, *mottoes* and prose fragments and replacing the dropped *subscriptiones*.¹⁴

¹⁰ Campa P., "The Spanish and Portuguese Adaptations of Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*", in Daly P.M. – Russell D.S. (eds.), *Emblematic Perceptions* (New York: 1994) 43–60; Dietz F. – Stronks E. – Zawadzka K., "Rooms-katholieke *Pia Desideria*-bewerkingen in internationaal perspectief", *Internationale neerlandistiek* 47,3 (2009) 31–49.

¹¹ On *Goddelycke wenschen*: Daly – Dimler, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum* number J680. On *Les Pieux Désirs*: Daly – Dimler, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum* number J701–J702; Black L.C., "'Une doctrine sans étude': Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* as *les Pieux Désirs*", in Manning J. – Van Vaeck M. (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition. Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18–23 August, 1996* (Turnhout: 1999) 233–247. Quarles's *Emblemes* is not mentioned by Daly and Dimler, but the relationship between Quarles's *Emblemes* and the *Pia Desideria* has often been explored. See for example: Höltgen K.J., "Francis Quarles and the Low Countries", in Westerweel B. (ed.), *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden etc.: 1997).

¹² See also: Raspa A., "Arwaker, Hugo's *Pia Desideria* and Protestant Poetics", *Renaissance and Reformation* XXIV, 2 (2000) 63–74. Raspa analyses the Protestant adaptation *Divine Addresses* by Arwaker from 1686. In this edition, no prose fragments were included. Raspa thinks the omission is the effect of the source Arwaker used; his *Divine Addresses* was based on an Antwerp edition of *Pia Desideria* from 1636, in which many prose texts were omitted. Raspa was right to argue that some Antwerp editions of *Pia Desideria* removed most prose quotations. To the best of my knowledge, the oldest edition of type 2 was not printed in Antwerp in 1636, but in Leuven in 1628: Hugo Herman, *Pia Desideria* (Leuven, Henrick van Hastens: 1628). In this edition, a *scriptio* is not followed by more than one prose text. The editions of type 1 and 2 from the Southern Netherlands were never mapped in detail until now. Daly and Dimler do not note the differences between the editions in their *Corpus Librorum Emblematum*.

¹³ Schilling M., "'Der rechte Teutsche Hugo'. Deutschsprachige Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen der 'Pia Desideria' Hermann Hugos S.J.", *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 70 (1989) 287.

¹⁴ Schilling, "'Der rechte Teutsche Hugo'" 288.

Editors did not arbitrarily select one of these combinations of elements. In the Spanish *Affectos Divinos* by De Salas from 1638, the omission of the prose commentary contributed to the book's perspicuity.¹⁵ According to Guiderdoni-Bruslé, the publisher Poiret also consciously deleted the emblem's prose quotations:

From his point of view, the essential pieces of the emblems were the images ('les figures'), the quotations from the Bible (which were like the *mottoes* of each emblem) and the poems. He was also worried about the physical weight of the volume [...].¹⁶

The appearance of many European *Pia Desideria* adaptations of type 1 or 2 indicates that most of the contemporary users thought that the meditative character of the *Pia Desideria* was due to the combination of all the elements, or to the combination of images, *mottoes* and poems.

In recent decades, several scholars have speculated about the meditative capacity of both types. Some scholars argue that the merging of images with *mottoes*, poems and prose texts stimulates the process of meditation (type 1); others hold that the meditative potency is directly linked to the merging of images, *mottoes* and lyrics (type 2). I will discuss both views in more detail, because they help us to understand the processes of – mainly Ignatian – meditation that contemporary users of the *Pia Desideria* tried to put into practice.

According to Leach, the *Pia Desideria* is an Ignatian meditation book because it combines all four elements: images with *mottoes*, poems and prose texts. The *Pia Desideria* owed its meditative power to the merging of images, lyrics and prose, all culminating in the prose element.¹⁷ 'In a brief picturae/epigram/prose meditation format, extraordinarily complex questions – the relationship of God to the world, the opposition of purity of soul and the temptations of the senses – could be explored', argues Leach.¹⁸

In contrast, Rödter and Dimler argue that the meditative character of the *Pia Desideria* results from the combination of elements typically found in type 2, the emblematic 'Deutungsspiel zwischen *pictura*,

¹⁵ Campa, "The Spanish and Portuguese Adaptations" 45.

¹⁶ Guiderdoni-Bruslé, "L'Amé amatante de son Dieu" 308.

¹⁷ Leach, *The literary and emblematic activity* 121–122.

¹⁸ Leach, *The literary and emblematic activity* 111–112.

inscriptio und *subscriptio*'.¹⁹ According to Rödter, the prose texts simply serve to broaden the reader's perspective on the emblem's central theme, without demanding special attention.²⁰ Dimler pays little attention to the prose fragments, and characterizes them only as 'proofs to a thesis or as confirmation of an argument'.²¹ Both scholars acknowledge the Ignatian influences in the *Pia Desideria*, but consider the Ignatian meditative phases of *memoria*, *intellectus* and *voluntas* only as features of the poems.²² According to Dimler, the *pictura* and *motto* function as the preparation of the Ignatian meditation. They are the 'composition of place' or 'the mental image of the place': 'One sees with the mind's eye the physical place where the object to be contemplated is present'.²³

Many scholars adhere to Rödter and Dimler's opinion that the omission of prose texts would not have reduced the meditative effect of the *Pia Desideria*. Campa described a Spanish edition without prose texts, *Affectos Divinos* by De Salas (1638), as 'a milestone in the development and popularization of Ignatian meditation', which consisted of 'well structured meditative tracts', the rhetorical structure of which was based on Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*.²⁴ Guiderdoni-Bruslé claimed that the omission of prose from *L'Ame amante de son dieu*, a type 2 adaptation from 1717, actually gave rise to 'mystical' emblems. In her view, they place more emphasis on the communion with and love for God than Hugo's original emblems.²⁵ The Polish edition of type 2, *Pobożne przagnienia* by Lacki (1673), was made more lyrical and emotional by the exclusion of the prose texts.²⁶

¹⁹ Rödter G.D., *Via piae animae. Grundlagenuntersuchung zur emblematischen Verknüpfung von Bild und Wort in den "Pia Desideria" (1624) des Herman Hugo S.J. (1588–1629)* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1992) 194.

²⁰ Rödter, *Via piae animae* 88–89; 284; 289.

²¹ Dimler, "Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*" 359.

²² Rödter, *Via piae animae* 86; Dimler G.R., "Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.Q. (eds.), *Mundus Emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books* (Turnhout: 2003) 363.

²³ Dimler, "Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*" 363.

²⁴ Campa, "The Spanish and Portuguese Adaptations" 47–48.

²⁵ Guiderdoni-Bruslé, "L'Ame amatante de son Dieu" 313–315. The German translation of *L'Ame amante de son dieu* of 1719 is also a type 2 adaptation. See Schilling, "Der rechte Teutsche Hugo" 290.

²⁶ Dietz – Stronks – Zawadzka, "Rooms-katholieke *Pia Desideria*-bewerkingen".

Paets's exceptional selection of elements from Pia desideria

Against the backdrop of the European reception history of the *Pia Desideria*, the Catholic *Pia Desideria* reception in the Northern Netherlands is unusual; Paets's adaptations consist of *picturae*, *mottoes* and prose texts. I call this rare combination of elements 'type 3'.²⁷

No fewer than four of Paets's books are type 3 *Pia Desideria* adaptations, produced with woodcuts based on Bolswert's *Pia Desideria* engravings, made by the famous woodcutter Christoffel van Sichem II (1581–1658) [Fig. 1+2].²⁸

A recent article that I published with Stronks and Zawadska briefly focussed on Paets's *Goddelycke wenschen* of 1645.²⁹ In this book, Van Sichem's woodcuts were combined with Dutch translations of the texts from the *Pia Desideria*, made by Justus de Harduwijn for *Goddelycke wenschen* (Antwerp: 1629). Paets used De Harduwijn's type 1 adaptation in a specific way: all *subscriptiones* but one were entirely omitted [Fig. 3].³⁰

There are practical reasons to assume that Paets purposely transformed De Harduwijn's type 1 adaptation into a type 3 adaptation.

²⁷ There is only one other known specimen of this 'type 3': the 1627 translation *Gottselige Begirde* by the German Jesuit priest Georg Stengel. See Schilling, "Der rechte Teutsche Hugo" 286.

²⁸ In her recent study *Beelden voor passie en hartstocht*, the art historian Evelyne Verheggen relates Paets's books to the *Pia Desideria*. She assesses Paets's illustrated books reusing woodcuts based on the *Pia Desideria*, made by the famous woodcutter Christoffel van Sichem II (1581–1658): Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie*, 79, 237–240. She especially focuses on the *Nachleben* of the *picturae* from the *Pia Desideria* in Paets's illustrated meditation books, and is convinced that the pictorial reception of the *Pia Desideria* was of more importance than the textual reception; see Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie*, 82–83. However, texts from the *Pia Desideria* were also intensively used in Paets's meditative books. See: Dietz F., "Sprekende beelden, sprekende woorden. De plaats van de tekst in het onderzoek naar de Noord-Nederlandse receptie van *Pia Desideria*", *Kunstlicht* 30,3/4 (2009) 40–46.

²⁹ Dietz – Stronks – Zawadzka, "Rooms-katholieke *Pia Desideria*-bewerkingen". In this article, we make a comparison between the *Goddelycke wenschen* by Paets and the Polish *Pobożne pragnienia* by Lacki. The hypotheses about Paets's programme are explored in more detail in this article.

³⁰ Verheggen was right to argue that Paets reprinted *Goddelycke wenschen* in a shorter version; see Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie* 79. The method of reduction remained unnoticed by Verheggen, but had been explored before by Dambre: Dambre O., "Bibliographie van de werken van Justus de Harduwijn", *Het boek. Tweede reeks van het Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen* 13 (1924) 194; Dambre O., *De dichter Justus de Harduwijn* (Den Haag: 1926) 154. However, the *scriptio* of the opening emblem, the only emblem without any prose quotations, was not omitted.



Fig. 1. Boëtius à Bolswert, *pictura* of emblem 1 from Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, Hendrick Aertssens: 1624), engraving.



Fig. 2. Christoffel van Sichem II, *pictura* of emblem 1 from Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (Amsterdam, Pieter Paets: 1645), woodcut.




Fig. 3a. Illustration of emblem 1 from Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (Amsterdam, Pieter Paets: 1645), woodcut.

HET I. BOECK.

Mijne siele heeft u ghewenscht in d' d' nacht. Isaia 26.

AVGVSTINVS foliloq. cap. 31.



En tijdt was eens dat ick u niet en kende! wee dien tijdt dat ick u niet en hebbe ghekent! wee die verblinthept als ick u niet en sagh! ô licht des Werelts ghy hebt my verlicht/ ende ick hebbe u aenschoutot.

Ibidem cap. 33.

Waerachtigh Licht/ ick hebbe u te late gekent/ ick hebbe u te late ghekent. Want boozde oogghen mynder pdelhept was een groote dicke dupster wolcke / soo dat ick niet en was machtigh te aenschouwen de Sonne der gerechtichept/ noch het schynsel der waerhept. Ick een kint der dupsternissen was gewonden in dupsterhept. Mijn dupsterhept ick beminde/ om dat ick het licht niet en kende. Ick was blind/ ende ick beminde de blindhept / ende wandelde by nachte in 't midden der dupsternissen. Maer wie heeft my uptgetrocken? daer ick blind mensche was sittende in dupsterhept/ ende in de schadue des doots? Wie heeft my om upt te trecken / ghenomen by der haant? wie is dan desen mijnen verlichter? Ick en socht hem niet/ ende hy heeft my gesocht?

Fig. 3b. Emblem 1 from Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (Amsterdam, Pieter Paets: 1645).

Paets seems to have been a precise and careful worker: all other pictorial and textual elements from the emblem book were meticulously reused, the original sequence was preserved, the preface and abstracts by De Harduwijn were carefully reprinted and the title page of De Harduwijn's book was copied.³¹ But he highlighted the references to Bible books and texts by the Church Fathers by prominently placing them above each fragment – in the original *Pia Desideria* (1624) and in the Dutch edition by De Harduwijn (1629), the references were just printed in the margins.

Paets's *'t Schat der zielen* (*The Treasure of the Soul*, 1648) follows the same strategy. *Goddelycke wenschen* was reprinted in this anthology in an even more abridged form and only a selection of the prose fragments was included [Fig. 4].³²

So far, the fact that the prose texts from the *Pia Desideria* also play an important part in Paets's *Bibels tresoor* (*Biblical Treasure*, 1646) and *Vierighe meditatie etc.* (*Devout Meditations*, 1631) has gone unnoticed.³³ In *Bibels tresoor, picturae, mottoes* and some prose fragments from *Goddelycke wenschen* were reprinted in a new order.

I will introduce *Vierighe meditatie etc.* in some detail, in order to explain why this book can be classified as a type 3 adaptation of *Pia Desideria*. *Vierighe meditatie etc.* is a book consisting of five Dutch translations of five texts, each attributed to different Fathers.³⁴ The first

³¹ I take Paets to be the editor of his books. There are no indications that other editors were involved, but it remains a possibility I can not completely rule out.

³² Dambre has already mentioned this abridging: Dambre, "Bibliographie van de werken" 195; Dambre, *De dichter Justus du Harduwijn* 155. I think practical motives determined the selection of prose fragments. Because Paets printed one emblem per page in *'t Schat der zielen*, there was simply no room for all the prose quotations. Paets reprinted De Harduwijn's prose texts without any changes until a page was completely filled. The text in emblem 1 therefore still opened with the fragment from chapter 31 from the *Soliloquia* by pseudo-Augustine. Paets omitted the next fragment from chapter 33 of the same work because of its large size, but included the following three citations without any change.

³³ The complete title is *Sinte AUGUSTINUS Vierighe Meditatie ofte aen-dachten. Ende de Alleenspraecken der Zielen tot GODT. Ende ooc dat Handt-Boecxken vander aen-schouwinghe CHRISTI. Item noch Sinte Bernardus devoote aendachten. Ende een Boecxken van S. Anselmus, ghenaemt: De Strale der Goddelijcker Liefden, met sommige van sijne Ghebeden*. The book *Vierighe meditatie etc.* is not to be confused with the tract *Vierighe meditatie etc.* as a part of that book. *Vierighe meditatie etc.* will be explored in more detail in my articles, Dietz, "Spreekende beelden"; Dietz, "Under the Cover of Augustine".

³⁴ Paets reused the popular translations made in the sixteenth century by Anthonius van Hemert, a regular canon from Eindhoven. On Van Hemert and his translation, see Verschueren L., "Antonius van Hemert", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 7 (1933) 405–522.

726 Goddelijcke wenschen.

Mijn siele heeft u gewenscht in den nacht, Isaie 26.



AVGVST. folil. cap. 31.

D En tijdt was eens dat ick u niet en kende! wee dien tijdt dat ick u niet en hebbe ghekent! wee die verblintheyt als ick u niet en sagh! *ô* licht des Werelts ghy hebt my verlicht, ende ick hebbe u aenschout.

AVGVSTIN. folil. c. 17.

Heere ghy zijt het licht, ghy zijt het licht van de kinderen des lichts, ghy zijt den dach die noyt en gaet onder in welcken dat wandelen uwe kinderen, sonder te misdoene, ende die in den selvé niet en wandelē, zijn in duyfterheydt, om dat sy u, *ô* eenich licht des werelts niet en hebben.

D. GREGORIUS in Job cap. 21.

Want dit tegenwoordigh leven eenen nacht is, in welcken wy soo langhe schemer-ooghen, om dies wille dat wy het inwendich onder een onsecker inbeeldinghe alhier aenschouwen. Want den Prophete om Godt te sien bevoelde hem met eenige verduyfterheyte te zijn ghedwongen, als hy seyde: *Mijn siele heeft u gewenscht in den nacht.* Als oft hy opentlijck wilde segghen: In de duyfternisse van dit teghenwoordigh leven, hebbe ick begeerte om u te aenschouwen, maer als noch ter tijdt ben ick gevangen in een wolcke der katijvighet.

AVGVSTINVS in Psal. 76.

Het is licht voor de menschen alle dinck te wenschen van den Heere, ende niet te wenschen den Heere selver.

638. Figuer. Gode

Fig. 4. Emblem 1 from 't Schat der zielen (Amsterdam, Pieter Paets: 1648), woodcut.

three texts include many *Pia Desideria picturae* and *mottoes*. These three texts are translations of the tracts *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia* and *Manuale*, with the titles *Vierighe meditatie* (*Devout Meditations*), *De Alleenspraecken der Zielen tot Godt* (*The Soul's Soliloquy with God*) and *Handt-Boecxken vander aen-schouwinghe Christi* (*Handbook on the Observation of Christ*). Those tracts were attributed to Augustine, but were actually compilations of highly devotional fragments written by several medieval theologians.³⁵

Herman Hugo was one of the many people who made substantial use of these texts during the early modern period. In the *Pia Desideria*, many prose fragments can be traced back to these sources. For example, chapter 33 of *Soliloquia* was reused almost in its entirety in emblem 1. The following fragment clarifies this point:

Caecus eram, et
caecitatem amabam, et ad tenebras per tenebras ambulabam. Quis me eduxit? ubi eram homo caecus sedens in tenebris et umbra mortis?

I was blind and I loved my blindness, and I walked from darkness to darkness. Who led me out of there, from where I was, sitting as a blind human being, in darkness and in the shadow of death?³⁶

Paets chose the picture from emblem 1 to illustrate chapter 33 of his *Soliloquia* or *Alleenspraecken*. In *Vierighe meditatie etc.*, the *pictura* from the first *Pia Desideria* emblem was combined with the pseudo-Augustinian text that had been used by Hugo in emblem 1 before.

Ick was blindt ende ick beminde mijn blindtheyt, ende ick wandelde door de duysternissen totter duysternissen. Wie heeft my daer uytgheleydt daer ick was sittende inde duysternissen ende inde schaduwe des doots?³⁷

I was blind and I loved my blindness, and I walked from darkness to darkness. Who led me out of there, where I was sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death?

³⁵ For the sources of the tracts, see, for example, Frandsen M.E., *Crossing Confessional Boundaries* (New York: 2006) 119. Robert Sturges considers the *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia* and *Manuale* as part of an interpretative process by which Augustine's work came to be read in a devotional way: Sturges R., "Pseudo-Augustinian Writings", forthcoming in *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*.

³⁶ Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the Latin are mine.

³⁷ Augustine, *Alleenspraecken*, in *Vierighe meditatie etc.* (Amsterdam, Pieter Paets: 1631) 153–154.

In this way, Paets preserved the specific combination of *picturae*, *mot-toes* and prose texts in *Vierighe meditatie* etc.³⁸

Paets's decision in 1631 to create a type 3 *Pia Desideria* adaptation was deliberate. It was a type which he would reuse more explicitly in 1645 and 1648. I have argued elsewhere that the hidden *Pia Desideria* use in *Vierighe meditatie* etc. might be related to the restricted freedom permitted Catholic printers in the Republic.³⁹

In sum, Paets's *Pia Desideria* adaptations indicate that combining *picturae*, *mot-toes* and prose fragments (type 3) was considered the most effective way of reusing the *Pia Desideria* for Dutch Catholics, more effective than the merging of images, *mot-toes*, poems and prose texts (type 1) or the merging of images, *mot-toes* and lyrics (type 2).

Rays of light in Pia desideria's prose parts

By combining *picturae*, *mot-toes* and prose fragments, Paets developed his own idiosyncratic strategy in appropriating *Pia Desideria* features. In order to see how Paets's products relate to the Ignatian meditative tradition, I will focus on the way Paets's *Pia Desideria* adaptations deal with two characteristics of Ignatian meditation: the intellectuality of the texts and the strong relationship between word and image, which prompts the reader's engagement. In this section I will analyse *pictura*, lyric and prose texts in the first emblem of the *Pia Desideria*, in order to increase our insight into the way Paets's works appropriate elements from the Ignatian meditative tradition.

The first emblem of the *Pia Desideria* is based on the *motto* deriving from the book of Isaiah: 'Anima mea desideravit te in nocte' (With my soul have I desired thee in the night).⁴⁰ The *pictura* from the first emblem depicts the well-lit face of the winged *Amor divinus* in a dark environment. *Anima* focuses all her attention on the light before her [Fig. 1+2]. Both the poems and the prose texts from the *Pia Desideria*

³⁸ Paets often reused word-image-relationships created in *Pia Desideria* by illustrating a chapter of *Vierighe meditatie* with the *pictura* from the *Pia Desideria* emblem in which Hugo had previously quoted the specific pseudo-Augustinian fragment. However, not every textual reference from *Pia Desideria* was transformed into a pictorial one by Paets, in fact he made his own critical selection. See Dietz, "Under the Cover of Augustine".

³⁹ Dietz, "Under the Cover of Augustine".

⁴⁰ I have cited *King James Version* (1611). See: www.biblija.net.

represent the believer's devout feelings. The difference lies in how both parts express emotion. The *subscriptions* make use of erudite embellishments.

Hei mihi quam densis nox incubat atra tenebris!
 Talis erat Pharios quae tremefecit agros.
 Nubila, lurida, squallida, tetrica, terribilis nox;
 Nocturno in censu perdere digna locum.
 Non ego tam tristes Scythico, puto, cardine lunas,
 Tardat ubi lentas Parrhasis Ursa rotas:
 Nec tot Cimmerio glomerantur in aethere nubes,
 Unde suos Phoebus vertere iussus equos:
 Nec reor invisi magis atra cubilia Ditis,
 Fertur ubi furua nox habitare casa.
 Nam licet hic oculis nullam dent sidera lucem,
 Non tamen est omni mens viduata die:⁴¹

Woe! In what deep darkness will the black night lie! Such a night was the one that made the land of Pharos⁴² tremble. Cloudy, lurid, foul, horrid, terrible night, worthy to lose its place in the census of nights.⁴³ There are not, I believe, such awful moons found in the Scythian skies, where the Arcadian Bear slows down the wheels to a crawl, nor do so often the clouds accumulate in the Cimmerian ether, from where Phoebus was ordered to turn his horses. Nor are, I think, the black sleeping quarters of Dis more hateful, where night, it is said, stays in its gloomy home. For although no stars give light here to the eyes, Still the mind is not bereft of all daylight.⁴⁴

In this fragment, Hugo pulls out all the expressionistic stops: mythological references, complicated comparisons and learned tropes. For example, *Anima* compares her night to the underworld, which turns out not to be so dark. Pluto, god of the underworld, darkens the physical eyes, but not the spiritual ones. Hugo's *subscriptions* were extremely lyrical – and in the translation by De Harduwijn they became even more so.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Hugo Herman, *Pia Desideria* emblem 1: <http://emblems.let.uu.nl/hu1624001.html>.

⁴² The lighthouse of Pharos was destroyed by two earthquakes in the fourteenth century.

⁴³ Meaning, presumably, a night one hopes never to experience again.

⁴⁴ The Latin *scriptio* translations were done by Gerard Huijting.

⁴⁵ The literary character of De Harduwijn's *Goddelycke wenschen* was the subject of studies by Dambre and Van Vaeck, but contemporaries also mentioned the poetic sound of De Harduwijn's work. See Dambre, "Bibliographie van de werken" 178; Dambre, *De dichter Justus du Harduwijn* 268–271, and Van Vaeck M., "The Reception of the *Pia Desideria* by Justus De Harduwijn". Unpublished lecture of the Fifty-Fifth

The prose texts, in contrast, express feelings through clear explanations and concrete suggestions. In this way, the prose fragments encourage readers to take action themselves. The poems, on the other hand, are not very optimistic about man's ability to increase his own happiness. This difference can best be elucidated by comparing a lyric and prose description of God as the only light. In the next fragment from the first *subscriptio*, *Anima* distinguishes two suns, of which only the second can drive away darkness. The reader must interpret the reference-laden description to conclude that *Anima* regards the natural sun as one sun while God as a spiritual light is the other.⁴⁶

Sed nimis haec longas tenebris nox prorogat horas,
 Quae tibi mane negat cedere, Phoebus, diem.
 Cum redit Arctoo Titan vicinior axi,
 Exultat reducis quisque videre iubar.
 Scilicet Aurorae gens vertitur omnis in ortus,
 Quisque parat primus dicere, Phoebus adest!
 Sic ego, saepe oculos tenui sublimis Olympo,
 Aspiciens, gemino qui iacet orbe, Polum.
 Et dixi tam saepe; Nitesce, nitesce meus Sol!

But too much this night draws out the long hours in darkness,
 The night that in the morning denies to cede the day to you, Phoebus.
 When Titan returns closer to the North Pole
 everybody rejoices to see his crest when he comes back.
 Indeed, all the people turn towards Aurora's rising,
 and everybody tries to be the first to say: 'Phoebus is here!'
 So I have fixed my eyes, high up on the Olympus,
 while I looked at the double orbit.
 And so often I said: 'Start shining, start shining, my Sun!'

In a prose quotation from the seventeenth chapter of pseudo-Augustine's *Soliloquia*, God is also presented as the only real light. However, the complicated and indirect information is replaced by a clear explanation:

Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Los Angeles 19–21 March 2009. Van Vaecck considers the case of Gillis Haefacker, a pastor and missionary in the diocese of Utrecht, who testified in 1621 that except for Justus de Harduwijn's *God-delycke lof sanghen*, he had never seen a religious songbook that was made properly according to the art of poetry. For more on this subject, see also Buitendijk W.J.C., *Het calvinisme in de spiegel van de Zuidnederlandse literatuur der Contra-Reformatie* (Groningen/Batavia: 1942) 269.

⁴⁶ See also Rödter, *Via piae animae* 186.

Tu lux Domine; tu lux filiorum lucis, tu dies qui nescis occasum, in qua ambulant filii tui sine offensione, et sine qua omnes qui ambulant, in tenebris sunt, quia te lucem mundi non habent.

Lord, you are Light; you are the light of the children of light, you are the day which never ends, in which your children walk without erring, without which they are in darkness, because they do not have you, the light of the world.

Prose and lyric also express desire for God differently. In the *subscriptio*, the longing is conveyed indirectly in the descriptions of the horrible darkness experienced by *Anima*. The prose texts articulate divine love directly: 'O aeterna veritas et vera charitas et chara / aeternitas! Tu es Deus meus, tibi suspiro die / ac nocte' ('O eternal truth and true love and loving eternity! You are my God, I crave you day and night'). Those expressions of love are meaningful, as a fragment by Bernard states that the believer contributes to his own purification by addressing Christ lovingly:

Putas erit qui intellectum illuminet, qui inflammet affectum? Erit vtique si convertamur ad Christum [...].

Do you think there will be someone who will enlighten your understanding and who will kindle your affection? That will definitely happen when we turn ourselves to Christ.

While the human soul sings of its wretchedness passively in the poem, in the prose fragments, divine love has already made possible an encounter between God and man. This encounter is described by quotations from chapter 33 of *Soliloquia*: 'Vere Domine tu es Deus meus/ qui eduxisti me de tenebris, et umbra mortis, / et vocasti me in admirabile lumen tuum' ('Truly Lord, you are my Lord, who led me out of darkness and the shadow of death, and who called me in your wonderful light').

In sum, the *subscriptio* and the prose fragments diverge in their degree of clarity. Whereas the *subscriptions* intensifies the literal and figural darkness of the depicted night, the prose part, in conjunction with the image, serves to clarify and instruct the practising believer, as if illuminating him with rays of light. Therefore, to opt for the prose is to privilege sober and instructive piety.

The relationship between *pictura* and *subscriptio* and between *pictura* and prose parts also differs. The *pictura* and the *subscriptio* are strongly connected; the poem is the direct expression of the portrayed *Anima*'s condition. The prose commentary, on the other hand, consists of collected

fragments. Although these fragments are related to the theme of the *pictura*, they do not directly describe what is depicted. The reader of Paets's books is therefore not automatically encouraged to interconnect pictures and prose texts. Especially in the case of *Vierighe meditatie* etc. – a combination of *Pia desideria picturae* and devotional texts attributed to different Fathers – the relationship between word and image is often weak and unclear.

Dutch piety

As we can now conclude, Paets's illustrated devotional literature did not support the Ignatian meditative programme, in which intellectual and strongly connected words and images gradually arouse devout feelings. In this section, I will argue that Paets's decision to create *Pia Desideria* adaptations of type 3, as well as to remain silent about the advisable use of those adaptations, is dependent on their functional context in the *missio Hollandica*.

Due to the fact that the States General had officially prohibited the public celebration of the Mass in 1580, the Catholic Church became a mission church in a Calvinistic-oriented society. *Schuilkerken* (hidden churches or conventicles) replaced traditional church buildings and the apostolic vicariate replaced the diocese.⁴⁷ Although the freedom of conscience proviso in the Union of Utrecht (1579) provides Catholics in the Dutch Republic the liberty and protection that confessional minorities in other European countries lacked, the practice of the Catholic faith was restricted. A 'structure of intolerance, harassment, and exclusion' characterized the life of Catholics in the *missio Hollandica* or 'Holland Mission'.⁴⁸

Many historians have discussed the nature of Dutch Catholicism at the time. Rogier is considered as the historian 'most responsible for shaping the historiography of Dutch Catholicism'.⁴⁹ In comparison to

⁴⁷ Frijhoff W.T.M. – Spies M., 1650. *Bevochten eendracht* (Den Haag: 1999) 354; Eijnatten J. van – Lieburg F. van, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* (Hilversum: 2005) 169; 182; Spaans J., "Stad van vele geloven 1578–1795", in Frijhoff W. – Prak M. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Centrum van de wereld 1578–1650* part II–I (Amsterdam: 2004) 387–388.

⁴⁸ Parker C.P., *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age*. (Cambridge etc: 2008) especially 24.

⁴⁹ Parker, *Faith on the Margins* 14.

believers in the Southern Netherlands and Southern Europe, Catholicism in the Republic was considered 'colder' and 'more Puritanical'; without 'frivolity' and 'nonchalance'. The differences were not only caused by Calvinistic infiltration, but also by Catholics' attempts not to seem objectionable.⁵⁰

Following Rogier, several scholars have argued that in the *missio Hollandica*, Catholics professed their belief more modestly and formally than elsewhere in Europe.⁵¹ However, some scholars have since contributed corrections or new ideas to this standpoint. For example, Spaans has argued that the sober religious practice was due not to any cautiousness on the part of Catholics, but rather to the difficult circumstances endured by them. Their financial means and manpower were limited and they could not practice their religion publicly.⁵² Spiertz attributes the sober Catholic practice to the Jansenist tendencies of the apostolic vicars Van Neercassel (1663–1688) and Codde (1688–1701).⁵³

However, Parker has recently placed Dutch Catholicism within the context of the European post-Tridentine church, arguing that 'heretofore scholarship has left Catholic communities too detached from the international revival of the Roman Church'.⁵⁴ Hoppenbrouwers also questioned Rogier's thesis on the national character of Dutch Catholicism twelve years before Parker.⁵⁵

By focusing on Paets's illustrated devotional literature, I approach the historical and theological discussion on the character of Dutch Catholicism from a new perspective. I am not the first to use religious literature as a source in scholarly research dealing with the nature of Dutch spirituality,⁵⁶ but my research on Paets's illustrated devotional

⁵⁰ Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme* (Amsterdam: 1964) especially 795.

⁵¹ See for example Spaans J., "Cornelius Hagius, een katholiek priester in een protestantse Republiek", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 10,1 (1994) 29; Spiertz M.G., "Godsdienstig leven van de Katholieken in de 17^{de} eeuw", *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* part 8 (Haarlem: 1979) 353.

⁵² Spaans, "Cornelius Hagius" 34.

⁵³ Spiertz, "Godsdienstig leven" 353. About Van Neercassel and Codde: Ackermans G., *Herders en huurlingen. Bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)* (Amsterdam: 2003).

⁵⁴ Parker, *Faith on the Margins* 14.

⁵⁵ Hoppenbrouwers F.J.M., *Oefening in volmaaktheid. De zeventiende-eeuwse rooms-katholieke spiritualiteit in de Republiek* (Den Haag: 1996) 99.

⁵⁶ Hoppenbrouwers, for example, has already considered the impact of international influences on Dutch Catholicism. His focus is on the broad collection of foreign spiritual literature circulating in the Dutch Republic. See: Hoppenbrouwers, *Oefening*

books is especially able to increase insight into the interaction between national and international influences; the books are products of the *missio Hollandica* and can be situated among the international successors to the *Pia Desideria*. Paets's illustrated meditation literature indicates that Dutch Catholics reused international Catholic material and themes, but adapted them in a special way in order to support an instructive piety. Paets must have been aware that in the Dutch Republic, it was this kind of piety rather than baroque, exuberant lyrics that would secure the devotional potency of the *Pia Desideria*.

Although Dutch readers were not used to dealing with illustrated religious literature at the time,⁵⁷ Paets did not give any instructions on how the reader should relate to the images, nor did he discuss any aspect of the reading or meditating processes he might have envisioned. It is probable that he published his books without any instructions about how to look at or meditate upon the images in an attempt to avoid controversy. It seems that Paets had every reason to be cautious. After all, when Joost van den Vondel explicitly reflected on the meditative effect of sensory perceptions in his *Altaergeheimenissen*, he encountered fierce resistance from Protestants.⁵⁸

in volmaaktheid especially 97 and chapter 4. Polman has written about the specifically frugal character of the Dutch church book *Christelycke onderwysingen en gebeden* (Christian Lessons and Prayers, 1685), and the way it differs from baroque books from the Southern Netherlands. See: Polman P., *Katholiek Nederland in de achttiende eeuw* part 1 (Hilversum: 1968) 131–133. Clemens has also explored the sober piety in church books from the *missio Hollandica*. He looked at the enormous distribution of *Christelycke onderwysingen en gebeden* in the Southern Netherlands and its limited popularity in the Northern Netherlands, suggesting that sober piety was not a 'Northern-Netherlandish' kind of piety. See: Clemens Th., *De godsdienstigheid in de Nederlanden in de spiegel van de katholieke kerkboeken 1680–1840* part 2 (Tilburg: 1988) 172; Clemens Th., "De uitgavegeschiedenis van het kerkboek de *Christelycke onderwysingen en gebeden* en de implicaties ervan voor de geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden (1685–1894)", *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland* 27 (1985) 215–253; Clemens Th., "Katholieke vroomheid en hun schisma van 1723", *Holland* 25 (1993) 197–220.

⁵⁷ As stated before, Catholic meditation literature was rarely produced in the Dutch Republic. See for example Dietz, "Under the Cover of Augustine"; Stronks, "Gewapende vrede".

⁵⁸ Stronks, E., *Negotiating Identities, Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic* (forthcoming).

Paets as a trendsetter?

Could Paets's preference for *Pia Desideria* adaptations of type 3 be an example of a trend within Catholic Dutch milieu? Because of our limited knowledge of Catholic *Pia Desideria* adaptations, it is difficult to answer this question convincingly. However, all the evidence points to the existence of an actual trend.

First of all, Paets's activities did not remain unnoticed: his shortened *Goddelycke wenschen* was reprinted in *'t Schat der zielen; Vierighe meditatien etc.* was republished in 1645. The reprints indicate that Paets's adaptations gained in popularity.

In addition, several other books by Paets also reused Van Sichem's woodcuts. Paets's *Biblia sacra* (1657) was illustrated by Van Sichem's woodcuts after the *Pia Desideria* and other religious books from the Southern Netherlands.⁵⁹ In 1628, Paets reprinted Thomas a Kempis's *Alleen-spraecke der zielen met Godt* (*The Soul's Soliloquy with God*), in which the *Pia Desideria* woodcuts were also included.⁶⁰ In all of these books, Paets only used pictures and *motatoes* from the *Pia Desideria*. However, they were again combined with prose texts instead of lyrical poems. Thus the connection with type 3 did not disappear.

A third argument is supported by the fact that Protestant editors of the *Pia Desideria* from the Northern Netherlands never chose to model their adaptations on type 3 adaptations. Just like foreign Protestants, Dutch Protestants preferred types 1 and 2.⁶¹

⁵⁹ On Paets's illustrated Bible books see Coelen P. van der, *De schrift verbeeld. Oud-testamentische prenten uit renaissance en barok* (Nijmegen: 1998) 173–176, 199–201; Poortman W.C., *Bijbel en Prent*. part 2 (Den Haag: 1986) 92–97.

⁶⁰ The *Alleen-spraecke der zielen met Godt* is mentioned in Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie* 79. For a brief description of this book, see Dietz, "Spreekende beelden"; Dietz, "Under the Cover of Augustine". *Alleen-spraecke der zielen met Godt* will be explored in greater detail in my dissertation.

⁶¹ Until now, the reuse of *Pia Desideria* in Protestant milieu has not received intense scholarly attention. The relationship between *Pia Desideria*, Serrarius's *God-delicke aendachten* (1653), *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen* (Divine Flame of Love, 1691) and Luyken's *Jezus en de ziel* (Jesus and the soul, 1685) is briefly explored in Meeuwesse K., "Een teruggevonden werkje van Petrus Serrarius", *Studia Catholica* 25 (1950) 241–263. Stronks focuses on the relationship between *Pia Desideria* and *Jezus en de ziel* in Stronks E., "Jan Luyken's first emblem books. The rekindling of the Dutch love emblem", *Emblematica* 15 (2007) 319–342. I have recently studied the reuse of *Pia Desideria picturae* in the eighteenth-century Protestant children's book *Uitmun-tende verzaameling* (*Extraordinary Collection*, 1780): Dietz F., "Pia Desideria through children's eyes. The eighteenth-century revival of *Pia Desideria* in a Dutch children's book", *Emblematica* 17 (2009) 191–212. All the indications are that the prose

Moreover, Dutch Catholic printers and authors did not make type 1 or 2 editions, although there is some affinity between type 1 and *Christelycke offerande* (Christian Sacrifice, 1640), in which the Catholic poet Jan Harmenszoon Krul creatively integrated parts of images, *mottoes*, *subscriptions* and prose texts from *Pia Desideria*.⁶² Compared to the clear preference for types 1 and 2 seen elsewhere in Europe at the time, this exception distinguishes the unique nature of the Dutch tradition.

My fifth argument appears most convincing, but can hardly be maintained due to a lack of evidence. The design of Paets's devotional books is closely related to a Catholic manuscript in which forty-five copperplates by Boëtius a Bolswert were included, briefly mentioned by Verheggen in *Beelden voor passie en hartstocht*.⁶³ We do not have much information about the date, origin and function of this handwritten adaptation, which was part of a composite book. A handwritten dedication tells us that it was given by Sister Catharina Simons to Sister Maria van Heel, who entered an unknown convent on 29 August 1666. We do not know whether Sister Catharina composed the composite book to commemorate Sister Maria's joining the order. Verheggen presumes that, but this hypothesis cannot be confirmed, since Sister Catharina may have been merely a temporary owner of the book.⁶⁴

Nor do we know much about the place of origin. Verheggen maintains that the manuscript can be counted among the *Pia Desideria* reception in the Northern Netherlands, but it is still not clear if the book was actually made or read in the Republic. Since the 1970s, the convolute has been in the university library of Nijmegen. Before that, it was in the monastery library of Wittem in Limburg, where Redemptorists have lived since 1836.⁶⁵ The father of a Redemptorist from Amsterdam donated a part of the impressive manuscript collection to the library at Wittem when his son joined the order at the

commentary was not influential in the Protestant reception history. The Protestant reception history will be explored in more detail in my dissertation.

⁶² For a brief description of *Christelycke offerande*, see Dietz, "Spreekende beelden".

⁶³ Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie* 82. This manuscript will be further explored in: Dietz, F., "Gedrukte boeken, met de pen gelezen", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 26,2 (2010).

⁶⁴ Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie* 82.

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Robert Arpots, curator of the University Library in Nijmegen, and to Father Jozef Konings, curator of the monastery library at Wittem for this information.

end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Was the convolute part of the gift, and can we conclude that it once served a function in Amsterdam? It is very unlikely that it had always been in Amsterdam. Since 1580, it was forbidden to enter a monastery or convent in the Northern Netherlands. Therefore, it is virtually certain that the unknown convent Maria entered in 1666 was located outside the Seven Provinces.⁶⁷ Maybe the convent was situated in the border regions between the Northern and Southern provinces, where convent life was not always made impossible.⁶⁸ Maria could have entered the convent for regulars in Emmerik. At 4 April 1684, apostolic vicar Van Neercassel wrote a letter to Paulus Roskam, the rector of Emmerik's convent. In the ecclesiastical administration, the letter was mentioned in conjunction with a letter to – among others – ‘Soror [sister, FD] van Heel’.⁶⁹ Did this ‘Soror’ and Roskam live together in Emmerik – and was the first name of this ‘Soror’ Maria? In that case, we could situate Sister Catharina and Sister Maria *outside* the Seven Provinces, but *inside* the territory of the *missio Hollandica*.⁷⁰

Let us focus on the content of the handwritten *Pia Desideria* adaptation for a moment. Although Verheggen holds that the maker of the manuscript composed his or her own meditative texts next to the *Pia Desideria picturae*, the texts are in fact Dutch translations of *mot-toes* and prose fragments from the *Pia Desideria*.⁷¹ The combination of

⁶⁶ Huisman G.C., *Catalogus van de middeleeuwse handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek Nijmegen* (Louvain: 1997) XIII.

⁶⁷ Since the Dutch parliament had officially forbidden Catholic worship in 1580, it was impossible to enter a convent or missionary community. See, for example, Monteiro M., *Geestelijke maagden: leven tussen klooster en wereld in Noord-Nederland gedurende de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum: 1996) 16. However, other religious communities, such as beguinages, were also sometimes called convents. Whether Sister Maria and Sister Catharina lived together in such a community in the Dutch Republic is a possibility I can not rule out.

⁶⁸ The Norbertine Sint-Catharinedal priory in Breda and Oosterhout, for example, still existed in the seventeenth century. However, convent life was not unproblematic; the continued existence of the Norbertine Sint-Catharinedal priory was seriously threatened at the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Sponselee-De Meester M.T.A.R., *Het norbertinessenklooster Sint-Catharinadal in de Staatse periode 1625–1795. Portret van een religieuze vrouwengemeenschap in benarde tijden* (Hilversum: 2004).

⁶⁹ Bruggeman J., *Diarum litterarum O.B.C.* part 4 (Utrecht: 1982) 1319. On Roskam as the rector of the Regulars' Convent in Emmerik: Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme* 398.

⁷⁰ Emmerik was part of the *missio Hollandica*. However, not all border regions were. See also Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme* 349–356.

⁷¹ Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie* 82.

images, *mottoes* and prose texts indicates that the manuscript is a type 3 *Pia Desideria* adaptation.

There are two reasons to assume that the author of the manuscript did not explicitly make use of Paets's texts. First, the creative selection of prose fragments in the manuscript is not the same as Paets's selection in *'t Schat der zielen* or *Bibels tresoor*. The maker of the manuscript even added a new fragment occasionally, which had not been used before by Hugo.⁷²

Second, the translations differ from De Harduwijn's translation in *Goddelycke wenschen*. The author often made use of Dutch translations of biblical texts and texts by the Church Fathers. The quotation from Augustine's *Confessions* in the first emblem, for example, came from the *Boecken der Belijdenissen van S. Augustijn* (Books of the Confessions of Saint Augustine, 1603).⁷³ When compared to the fragment from *Vierighe meditatie* etc. quoted above, it becomes clear that the author of the manuscript used the Dutch source of *Soliloquia* [Fig. 5]:⁷⁴

Ick was blint ende ick beminde myn blintheyt ende ick wandelde door die duysternisse toter duysternissen wie heeft myn daer vuyt⁷⁵ geleyt / / daer ick was sittende inder duysternisse / endt onder schaduwe des doots [...]

I was blind and I loved my blindness, and I walked from darkness to darkness. Who led me out of there, where I was sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death?

However, I contend that the fragments in the manuscript were not all taken from existing translations. For example, the author used a fragment from one of Augustine's psalm editions, which did not circulate

⁷² I refer to a fragment by Bernard. The maker of the manuscript made mention of Bernard's name, but not of the specific source. I have not found the source yet.

⁷³ Augustine, *Boecken der Belijdenissen van S. Augustijn* (Emmerik, Jacob van Eckeren: 1603). According to De Rynck and Welkenhuysen, this is the oldest translation of the *Confessiones*. See: Rynck P. de – Welkenhuysen A., *De Oudheid in het Nederlands* (Baarn: 1992) 106.

⁷⁴ The translation used by the manuscript author and Paets was done by Van Hemert (cf. note 34). However, the author of the manuscript did not use either Paets's 1631 or 1645 edition of *Vierighe meditatie* etc. The corrections that were made in Paets's edition by the notary Bredan, were not found in the manuscript. However, we do not know which edition the maker of the manuscript actually used. Many editions were circulating in the seventeenth century. See Verschueren, "Antonius van Hemert" 409–416.

⁷⁵ We are probably supposed to read 'uuyt', or 'uit', which means 'out'.

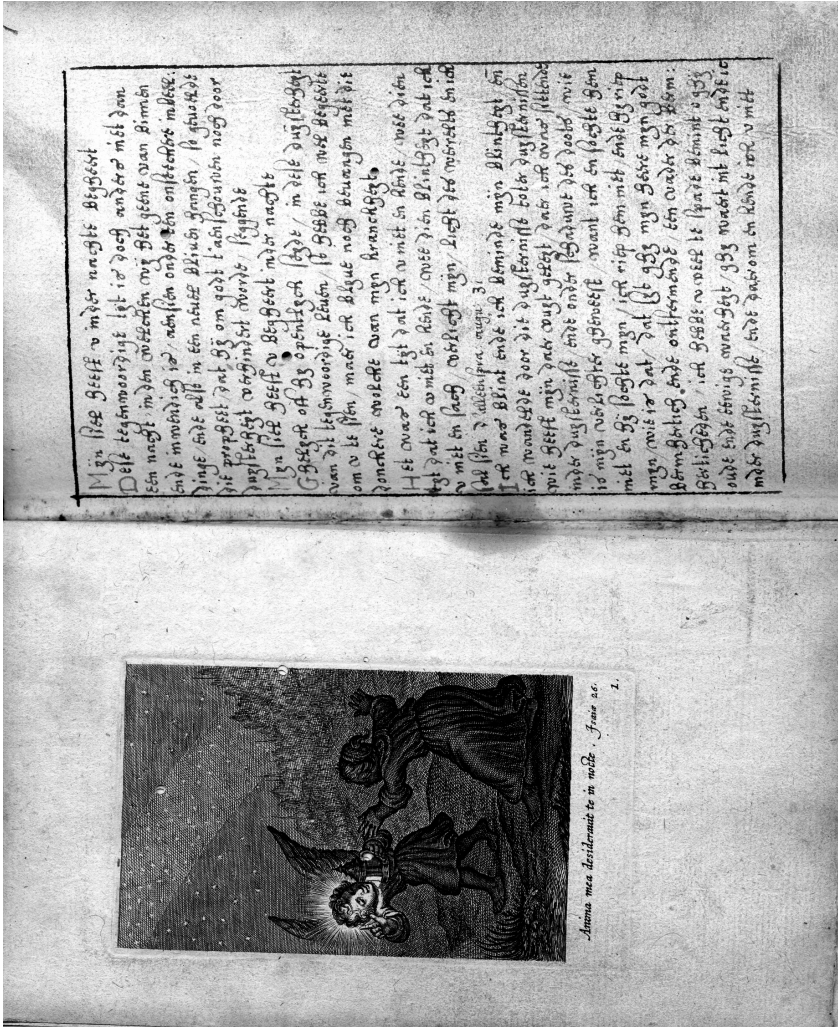


Fig. 5. Emblem 1 from manuscript 325, University Library of Nijmegen, engraving.

in a printed Dutch translation to the best of my knowledge.⁷⁶ The author may have combined existing and new translations.

Did the author know about Paets's type 3 editions and did he or she want to follow this particular method of combining elements from the *Pia Desideria*?⁷⁷ Or did Paets and the manuscript author both arrive independently at the same conclusion, namely that the merging of *picturae*, *mottoes* and prose fragments was the most effective way of re-using the *Pia Desideria*? Both possibilities indicate that Catholics, both in and outside of religious orders, preferred to create *Pia Desideria* adaptations of type 3.

Conclusion

For contemporary users, the meditative character of the *Pia Desideria* was attributed to the effect of the combination of pictures, *mottoes*, poems and prose quotations (type 1) or of the combination of *picturae*, *mottoes* and *subscriptions* (type 2). In striking contrast to foreign editors, the Amsterdam Catholic printer Pieter Paets regarded the potency of the *Pia Desideria* as the result of the unique combination of *picturae*, *mottoes* and prose texts (type 3). His *Pia Desideria* adaptations are not compatible with the Ignation meditation programme, in which intellectual and strongly connected words and images gradually act as a stimulus to the *voluptas* or will. The selected prose fragments are characterized by their austere style, the clarity of instruction and practical suggestions. This 'instructive piety' is suited to the religious programme of the Dutch Mission – in contrast to the expressionistic and erudite lyric in the *subscriptions*. In order not to seem objectionable in a Republic which was dominated by Calvinists, Paets printed his *picturae* and prose commentary without any explanation of their use and potency.

Some scholars assume that the specific character of Dutch Catholicism was due to the exceptional position of Catholics in the Republic: Calvinistic infiltration, Catholic cautiousness and practical limits all

⁷⁶ According to De Rynck and Welkenhuysen, the first Dutch printed translations of Augustine's psalms were published in 1729. See De Rynck – Welkenhuysen, *De Oudheid* 112. I did not find older psalm translations in *Index Aureliensis. Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, part 1, book A, vol. V (Baden Baden: 1964).

⁷⁷ The author maybe knew Paets's *Goddelycke wenschen* (1645), see Dietz, "Geduchte boeken, met de pen gelezen."

influenced the formal piety in the *missio Hollandica*. Was the omission of baroque lyrics the result of their caution? Or does the preference for meditation type 3 betray a desire to assimilate the Protestant meditative tradition in the Republic into their own religious experience? That tradition also emphasised the importance of clear instructions and was distrustful of emotional or visual stimulation.⁷⁸ Stripped of evocative comparisons and cryptic embellishments, the Counter-Reformational *Pia Desideria* seems to have acquired a Protestant hue in its resemblance to Protestant Dutch meditation literature and in the differences it had with foreign Catholic traditions.

⁷⁸ On the lack of emotional or visual stimulation in Protestant literature, see, for example, Stronks E., “De zwetende lezer. Religieuze leeservaringen in de Republiek” *Vooy*s 27,3 (2009) 15–23. Current research that is a part of our research project (cf. note 1) will explore the relationship between Catholic and Protestant meditation literature from the Republic in more detail. The results will be published in my forthcoming dissertation and in Stronks, *Negotiating Identities*.

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